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Bennett, John Edward

Our national tendency and  
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## Our National Tendency and Its Goal

By JOHN E. BENNETT.

In pursuing an economic subject we should bear always in mind one fact, that is: that economic law, unlike municipal law, takes no account of political boundaries. We may as a nation adopt laws which we conceive to be to our particular interest, giving us a benefit as against the people across a border; and applying these to practice they may seem to us for a time, and perhaps for a long time, to work to our advantage; but if such statutes do not square with economic law, we shall, sooner or later in the life of the nation, awaken to the fact that these enactments, which we created to prosper ourselves to the detriment of the stranger, have really made victims of ourselves, and they have done us as much injury as they imposed upon those against whom they were aimed.

I use concerning such statutes the phrase "unless they square with economic law;" for there may be some enactments, devised for our benefit against the interests of the outlander, which may accord with economic law. Take for instance the *cordons sanitaires*; here we have a provision planned for our safety against the introduction amongst us of disease. The country will better and more permanently prosper through the effective interposition of such regulations. But it is the nature of all devices of that character that they are temporary in duration; if they were other than expedients, if the prevalence of cordons became the settled policy of the nation, it may well be doubted whether we should not attain to more of safety by admitting even disease and combating it as we combat that which arises amongst us, rather than suffer the withering and subsiding processes of isolation.

The principle, therefore, which underlies the enactments of Chinese exclusion in 1882, that "the chance to get a job is determined by the condition of the 'labor market'," which has turned us in like manner against the Japanese and other nations of the Orient, and now is exerting itself in its ordinary and progressive course against the nations of Europe and the rest of the world in the Burnett-Dillingham bills\*—this principle manifests itself internally amongst ourselves and against ourselves with as much injury as it produces against the people from without. On this Pacific Coast we are experiencing in a high degree the harm which attends the exercise in two directions of this erroneous force. We are all feeling what it means not to have the Oriental peoples amongst us; not to have free movement of peoples back and forth between the two continents. Where

\*The literary test anti-immigration measures.

we would have great and rich cities, enormous industries, magnificent enterprise of all kinds, the harbors filled with shipping and traffic bristling with energy in all directions, we now have small towns on our coast, our industries are of minor importance, in many branches no industries at all; we have empty or near empty harbors, traffic weak and unsatisfactory, and our people (excepting the labor unions) supplicating immigration from Europe, while turning their backs upon the real, proper and natural region of immigration to us, the Orient.

Most singularly the spell under which our people tolerate the maintenance of these warped conditions, when such abundance and prosperity would pour in upon us by merely opening the doors to the people of the Pacific, is the idea, now well nigh a fetish, that for some reasons of race the Oriental peoples are obnoxious to us and "our civilization." That the idea has not the slightest basis in truth may be recognized from the fact that there is scarcely a man of those who shout it loudest, and who most strongly urge it as a reason for keeping out the Orientals, who would not gladly remove himself and his family to the Orient, to China, to Japan or India, and there dwell in and amongst those people, if his income be thereby increased somewhat above that which he experiences here—increased even to that point where it would probably be through the increased business and prosperity which would be visited upon this Coast by the free coming and going of these people. And if it should occur that there was an individual amongst us whose feelings against Japanese and Chinese was so bitter that he would not accept an offer otherwise inviting to take up his residence in either of their countries, we would look upon such a man as a crank, a warped and narrow pervert, and even those strongest in their objections to the entry to this country of Orientals, would so regard him. We can see at a glance by this test, therefore, that there is no real objection to the incoming and residence amongst us of the Orientals, on the score of their individualities. A man who has no aversion to himself residing amongst them in their own country can have no real ground for opposing their residence in this country. If he has such it is altogether imaginary, a sheer unreasoning bias, which it is disgraceful for a nation to treat as the basis of law.

The people of this Coast do not realize the loss they are constantly experiencing by the prevalence of the policy of exclusion of the Orientals. It requires a considerable effort of the constructive imagination to become aware of the state of the public under a different public condition from that which prevails. When, therefore, I say that if Chinese exclusion had never been enacted the business today moving on this Coast would be vastly greater than it is, doubled, trebled, perhaps quadrupled, one might doubt that the statement is true. If it were generally recognized for a moment that it was true, there would be a stampede on this Coast to repeal the exclusion acts, quite similar to the rushes we have experienced here in the quest for gold, and having at their end a like purpose, namely, gain.

But the truth of the statement may be readily seen. Upon one fact all agree, viz.: that if exclusion did not exist Oriental laborers would come to this Coast in considerable numbers. The very numbers with which it is supposed they would come comprised one of the large grounds for refusing them entry. Experience has shown us also that they are very industrious—their industry, in the perverted arguments of the exclusionists, being put forward as a cause for keeping them out, since by that very industry they are supposed to supplant the less industrious white in competition for employment. Very well: here we have numbers and here we have industry. Now take the rate at which the Chinese and Japanese were coming thither at the time they were shut out by exclusion, and the rate at which they were annually returning to their own countries, add to this a proportionate annual increase as the industry of the coast arose to demand their presence, and we may get a fair idea of what the Oriental population of the Coast states would be today had exclusion never been enacted. As I compute, it would certainly be in excess of two millions of people, over and above our present Oriental population, which are very few. Consider now the productive force of these people, devoting their energies to industry, many of them with modern appliances and under American direction, and if it shall be said that their contributions to society over and beyond their own consumption would amount in value to an average of one dollar per day, I think we shall be very moderate. Here then, we have two million people yielding two million dollars daily, in a year of 360 days, yielding seven hundred and twenty millions of dollars.

Who would be getting this \$720,000,000 annually? The "capitalists"? What could the "capitalists" do with it, if they got it, which they would not? They could not eat it; or at least, not more than would appease their several appetites, and they would not throw it into the sea. Those who would get it would be the people of this Coast, and it would pass to the added prosperity and enrichment of every man, woman and child on this Coast—everywhere, who was a member of society. By adding to abundance it would be increasing industrial opportunity, multiplying jobs to the white laborer, and calling for his services in higher orders of employment than are now accessible to him. It would do harm to no one; it would do immense benefit to all.

But along with this increase of 2,000,000 to the population of our Coast there would have come a much larger increase to our white population than has been the case. The census of California for the decades between 1860 and 1880, when Chinese immigration was free, shows a large white influx, nearly nine times greater than that of the Chinese.\* No statement in that ganglion of falsehoods which passed for exclusionists' arguments

*The figures were as follows:	1860	1870	1880
White .....	323,177	499,424	767,181
Chinese .....	34,933	49,310	75,218
Total white increase in the three decades:	444,004.		
Total Chinese increase in the three decades:	50,283.		

was ever more false than the statement that the incoming of the Oriental prevented the white from entering the state; such never was a fact and never could be a fact. Consider the condition of Hawaii, to which we are constantly referred by the exclusionists as the *vade mecum* of awful places, where the Oriental toils in the presence of the white. Turn out the 90,000 Orientals from those islands, and how long would the 90,000 whites remain? Why, in ninety days there would be scarcely enough left to furnish keepers for the silent mills and the deserted buildings.

So that when we contemplate the \$720,000,000 of added production to this Coast per year, and add to it the increased production which would be occasioned by the added white population, albeit they worked in higher forms of industry than the Orientals, then contemplate the magnitude of the shipping that would go on in our ports in the forwarding of our surplus production in exchange for the products of the Orient, and the transportation incident to all this industry, we can then catch some faint glimpse of what this Coast would be today, industrially, financially and in every other way that our modern civilization knows, if the exclusion laws had never been enacted.

But I spoke of the effect of economic law exerting itself against us where we have directed enactments contrary to this law, against the foreigner. Economic law is, indeed, a form of natural law; and statute law to be justifiable must be in accord with economic law, or with moral law. Consider the decalogue. It is a code of economic and moral law. Does it bear upon anybody to obey these laws? Who wishes to disobey them? "Thou shalt not steal;" this is an economic law. Who desires to steal? "Thou shalt not covet;" this is a moral law. Do we not recognize it a vice to covet? When, therefore, our legislatures enact these provisions into codes, they do no violence to what we conceive to be our liberties; we feel no restrictions placed upon us; but when the legislature says that one man shall not cross a border and reside with his fellow man because he is of another race than ourselves, that idea shocks us; we recognize in it at once a high-handed assault of some kind upon human liberty and individual freedom, and it requires a long time of hammering upon our consciences and our susceptibilities with this and that assertion, which we do not examine as to truth, before our minds are so molded as to allow that perhaps there does exist some kind of condition amongst the white people, that nobody else can live in the country with them.

But when we violate economic law, as we have done in enacting the exclusion statutes, we do so because of an erroneous economic precept; and this works as much within the nation as without; works, as I have said, as much against us as against the foreigner; for we cannot have conditions based upon economic truth within the nation, and statutes built upon economic error operating against those without. When, therefore, we passed the exclusion laws upon the hypothesis that the incoming Chinese would take the job away from the white man, had that legislation been the

product of reason and not of "politics," Congress would have analyzed this doctrine and applied and traced its operation and effects amongst ourselves within our nation and considered how it worked here. Had this been done the doctrine never would have been set up against the stranger.

The law of competition, as it is applied in the realm of commodities, does not obtain in the region of human service. The most widespread harm attends and follows the conducting of affairs upon the theory that it does. The inevitable result of the operation of industry upon the assumption that the same rule applies in both spheres is to create monopolies, and monopoly becoming intolerable, and moving still along the same line, to bring about socialism; and socialism, were it once in existence, would soon pass into military autoeracy, and we should then be back again into the pale of ancient despotisms and tyrannies. So that by successive processes, advancing in a diametrically straight line, we can premise the decline of modern civilization. Not only is it not improbable that modern civilization will decline, but it is definitely certain to do so through the direction of the movement upon which it is now proceeding. It is only if we are wise enough to perceive the direction, and to know the cause of that trend, and knowing, have the courage to correct it, that this calamity to our children can be averted. Civilization has repeatedly risen and fallen in the world; and while that which succeeded has each time been greater and grander than its predecessor, yet the fact is that each civilization preceding the present did fall; and there were long years of subsidence and quiescence, when the state of the highest man was barbaric, before the forces of uplift gathered strength to push man again forward into a higher goal. Man's curve of progress from the beast to the highest modern mind has been upward, but the line is not continuously so; it is extremely serrated, abounding in peaks and depressions, the troughs marking long periods when war and raven raged, when public order was swept aside, when property existed in but slight degree because its possession was insecure, and when man was far more safe in solitude than he was in the presence of his fellows.

A little meditation will convince anyone that the idea of competition in the sale of commodities and competition in the "sale of labor" is not the same, as they are generally thought to be, and as the whole industrial realm of the world believes, and acts upon. In fact the principle governing the two zones is, in a sense, opposite in each. Let us see: I want a thousand barrels of sugar. I specify its grade, its polarization, the place where it must be delivered. As between the sugars that are tendered the only ground of conflict can be the price; I accept the lowest bid and that ends the transaction. The sugar passes into my possession and is consumed; there are a thousand barrels less sugar in the world. The bidders for this sale were competitors. But assume that there are a thousand men working in my candy factory; and another thousand men from without, say from Vermont or Georgia, come along and apply for the jobs of the thousand whom I employ; they are all of a grade of laborers equal to those in the

factory, and they offer to labor, to perform the same service as the men in the works at a less wage than I pay the others. I accept this offer, discharge the men I have and take on the new set at the lesser wage. Is that competition? The whole world today says it is. It is not. What is the difference? The difference is this: that whereas, when I took the sugar there were withdrawn a thousand barrels from the realm of sugar, when I take on the new men and let off the old, there are no men withdrawn from the realm of labor. The sugar is consumed and converted into something else; but the men are not consumed, neither those I took on nor those I let out. What becomes of the men I let out? Do they starve and die? They would have to do so to parallel the instance of the sugar; for in the case of the sugar there was obliteration, and there would also have to be obliteration of the men to make the two operations balance or parallel. The men go off into other lines of work.

Let us follow these men thus let out of the candy factory. Do they work at their new occupations at less wages than they worked at the factory? Some do, perhaps; some receive equal wages, and some receive higher wages through finding higher phases of employment. It is the process of nature, operating in the lower orders of employment, that the tenure of the lowest jobs is insecure; that men working therein are frequently shifted out of them, and compelled to look for something else, and something better because something higher. You cannot do a young and healthy man more harm than place him in a low order of employment and make his wages steady and his job secure—the very thing that the labor union regards as most necessary to the man to have, and which it is organized most certainly to attain.

But what determined the wages to be paid the men when they went to another place and applied for a job? Was it not supply of men, and number of men of the same grade each bidding against the other for the new job, that determined the price of the wages that should be received by the successful bidder? Assuredly it was. Well, then; why is *not* the opportunity to labor fixed and determined by supply and demand of laborers?—and here we come to the crux of the whole question, viz.—what determined demand and supply of laborers? What is it that draws off the competitors from the doors of that shop and leaves the applicant standing there alone? The union says there is no such thing as “drawing off;” that the only thing that determines the chance to get a job at that shop is the demand that has come upon the shop from without for its products; if this demand is large they will take on more men; if it be small, it will need fewer men, or none at all. If the product of that shop be all used up by the public, there is a call on the shop for more goods and they take on more men; if a fire or flood sweeps away the stocks in the stores in town, such stores will have to have more goods, and the factory gets more orders, and rush orders, and it takes on more men; and this is the only way the men can get a job, and the cheapest man would get it—were it not for the labor union which

fixes the scale of wages, and will not let those men bid against each other, will not even let two men go to the factory, if there be a job for but one, for each man must take his turn.

This has the appearance of truth; and men—the unlearned men who comprise the unions—are not to be blamed for being deceived thereby, nor for regarding the union, under such a condition, as being a benefit to themselves, and for hanging their hopes and their lives upon it.

Yet we have seen that when the men left the candy factory, the product of the factory followed them. If when they left the factory the product of the factory had ceased, then, indeed, would they have been injured by being discharged. If all factories should so shut down, what would be the resource of the men discharged? They would turn to the soil, the great factory which nature has prepared for the employment and sustenance of all men. But the continuous output of the factory prepared and provided for the men new jobs. Whereas before this product was merely transported and distributed, it now has a thousand added hands working upon it, putting it into more marketable shape. It is taken from its wooden barrels and repacked in fancy paper boxes, which packing has given rise to a paper box factory; this in turn to a pulp mill; this further back to a timber industry, cutting the wood to make pulp. Some of the boys went off and started a chemical works to bleach the pulp; others remelted and worked over parts of the output of my factory and made it into forms entailing more art and refinement than I employed; some opened a printing office to print fancy wrappers; and the stock which left my factory was sold under different conditions, and brought much more money than I sold it for, since between my yield and the consumer there grew up a dozen new industries created by those thousand men, the upshot of which was that the public received my product in a more acceptable way, packed in a manner to effect a vastly wider reach of distribution.

The result of the change of the men was that whereas my factory had been turning out a large annual tonnage with the labor of a thousand men drawn from that community, now the same tonnage goes forth without the labor of those men, and their energies are saved to be applied in the directions named. In so far as the community goes, there is the product of the factory going forth without labor. It meets in the community these discharged hands, with the result as stated.

Let us take the matter in another aspect: Suppose that instead of my taking on the thousand Georgians, I had taken on none at all, but had put into the factory a number of automatic machines, and these produced all the product similar to that of my output with the men, and I required no labor whatever, only machines. Are the thousand men whom I let out harmed, or is the country harmed by that circumstance? Here we have product going forth into the community without any labor at all. Is anybody hurt thereby that goods can come forth without human energy? If so, then let us assail the heavens when they yield copious rains, for



these are producers of abundance without human energy. Yet in some way we seem to delight at generous rains and regard their absence as a blight. Surely in seasons of drouth far more of human energy must be applied to the soil to get from it paying yields, which even fall far short of the crops afforded by favoring rains; but according to the doctrine that the letting out of the men was a harm, we must bemoan when rain shall fall, for such brings forth a yield without labor, just as the product of the machines were a yield without labor, and just as the yield of the Georgians was without labor, in so far as the town and county of Candyville was concerned.

Indeed, if we examine the sum total of civilization itself we shall find that it means, in its ultimate goal, just that thing, viz.: the mastery of man over matter—a mastery so complete in its ascendancy that the needs, the comforts, even the material luxuries and delights of men all are supplied with the application to matter of a modicum of human energy. When that is attained the life of man will cease to be chiefly material, but will become mostly spiritual; the concerns of the mind and of the soul will engage him; and it is to this that civilization in its free course is tending, and which it will attain in infinite realms of human happiness that no terrestrial concept can now approximate, if it be permitted to pursue its way, clear of the clogs which now beset it and threaten it.

The principle is that any factor of production that increases abundance of the things we desire, whether such be a new laborer or a new machine, an improved system, a more recent chemical or mechanical discovery, is a benefit to every one in the community. Because abundance means further employment. Once wealth is wrested from nature it inures to the benefit of all men within its reach. It is wealth, abundance, plenty, that gives employment; this, coupled with human initiative, is the real factor which produces the jobs; just as the movements of both are unclogged and free, so are the opportunities to labor frequent or few.

The contrary doctrine, however, which I shall call the "labor market" theory, treats scarcity as necessary to give employment to labor. It therefore limits output, upon the supposition that if there be abundance there will be more than consumption can consume, and men must thereby be laid off until supply needs replenishment. Consequently any factor tending to scarcity is a benefit to the laborer. Short hours, high wages, limit of output, waste, sabotage, strikes, destruction by the elements, any engine that will increase cost and decrease supply is assumed to be a benefit to the laborer. The edict of Knight of Labor Powderly to break all empty bottles that the bottle makers might have employment making new ones, and the blowing up of the non-union structures by McNamara, were all in line with this principle.

A doctrine that demands scarcity and produces it, also places an inordinate estimate upon the job. If scarcity must persist in order to furnish opportunity to labor to those who are employed, what priceless boon must

such opportunity be to those who have it! Hence this possession must be guarded and protected against not only those who would menace it from without, but from those who would enter it from within. To effect this protection the holders of the jobs organize, and we have the labor union—an institution which treats itself as in possession of a vested right to all the jobs that a given occupation provides; which regards it as a crime akin to treason that one shall work in such service without its permission, and which is equipped to wage war alike upon employer and applicant who shall disregard this assertion of its right. It is an institution to whom immigrants are no less hateful than the children of the unionists themselves; who oppose the entry into the state alike of Orientals and Europeans, provided they come to work;\* who conduct constantly a widespread campaign throughout the country telling people to keep away; who limit the apprentices who may enter the crafts to a number barely equal to supply the places of the unionists who pass away, and who, in constant fear of "overstocking the labor market," curb even their own reproduction of children.

It is the nature of such a principle to wall up the world, each nation against the other. Under the operation of this influence we have walled up the Orient, but we are in like manner walling up ourselves. The shutting out of the European follows naturally the shutting out of the Asiatic; and as we isolate ourselves, and escape from the system becomes more and more restricted through absorption of all the free arable land of the continent, the centripetal process of the doctrine becomes apparent. It is the quality of civilization to cheapen cost and prevent waste, thereby reducing prices while increasing quality, making commodities better and more accessible to all. All processes of the mind expressed in discovery, invention, adaptation and systemization tend in this direction. We can in a manner measure the status of civilization by watching, over the whole nation, this tendency. When the counter forces of civilization, therefore, overcome this tendency, we see prices rise and quality reduced. As prices rise† consumption is lessened, and the call for labor thereupon declines. The doors of opportunity to labor being barred by the union, women are thrown into the street and boys into idleness and immorality. A stupendous aggregate of idle labor ensues and this stirs

\*We hear many opinions upon the cause of high prices, an evil now generally recognized. One writer assigns an insufficient supply of monetary gold as the cause; another the lack of practice of domestic economies among the people, etc.; but the real cause is very simple, though never mentioned that I have seen, viz.: scarcity of the article priced. The only reason why any commodity exists at all is that it shall be consumed. Industry forcing it into the hands of the consumer is no less eager in its efforts than the industry which brought it into existence. If it exists in abundance it will find consumers at prices which they can pay. This price, of course, must be such as makes profitable both production and distribution, or abundance will cease and scarcity supervene.

†In an address made before the American Federation of Labor at its recent convention held in the State of Washington, the secretary of that organization strongly opposed the immigration to the United States of Europeans on the ground that thereby they prevented the laborers of this country from working out their problems here, and also interfered with the laboring people of the countries from which they came in working out their problems in such countries. At a convention of the Building Trades Council lately held in San Jose, the secretary of that body denounced the Panama Canal as amounting to a scheme to bring laborers into the state to take the jobs from the workmen here.

action in two directions, viz.: facilities for finding employment for laborers, and schemes for forcing employment for laborers where none economically exists. Specimens of the latter are the full crew schedules, like the bills affecting railroads so common in our state legislatures and the shipping bill now before Congress. In the former effort, that of facilitating employment, the labor unions of England supplement the work of the various public bodies, all unconscious, perhaps, that they themselves are the chief causes of the very conditions which they thus ineffectually seek to allay. In this state of things all dependents suffer; women, children, youths, old age. The latter, whom it is our duty and, under natural conditions, our pleasure to care for in their decline of life, become a burden. It is the history of barbarous tribes, particularly the Germanic, that the aged, being no longer productive, were slain, and the son was obliged to kill his father. This rite does not obtain in modern civilization, but there arises in our midst enormous edifices of public charity for the aged, and, as in England where labor unions are highest developed, these work houses and their attendant aids shelter sixty per cent. of the population of the country above the age of sixty years.

Amidst such a condition there are widespread calls for legislative relief in the form of old age pensions, maternity awards, minimum wages, workmen's compensation, unemployed insurance, eight-hour and six-hour labor laws, and various kindred devices all aimed to meet a tendency and alleviate extensive poverty and distress which that tendency creates. The real effect of these expedients is to burden industry, discourage incentive through making perilous and difficult the conducting of business, while the so-called relief itself is such as would not be welcomed, indeed in many instances, would be indignantly spurned as gifts of public contribution, if men were free to provide for themselves.\*

Increasing cost of production tends to isolation of the *situs* of production. The only reason for the shipment of goods from a distance is that they can be laid down at the end of such shipment cheaper than they can be produced at home. As the cost of their creation at the place of their production increases, the zone of distribution decreases. It is possible that

\*One of the most remarkable exhibits of the condition I am describing, is the amazing mass of literature that exists upon the subject in England. The theme seems to be more written upon than any other that engages the English mind. Books and pamphlets, literally by thousands, exist and are constantly appearing. Yet no less remarkable is the fact that none of these publications, that I have seen, reach into the true cause of the trouble. Occasionally we find a writer catching a glimpse of the cause, as W. H. Beveridge in his book on the Unemployed, in which he says:

"The popular concept is of industry rigidly limited—a sphere of cast iron in which men struggle for living room; in which the greater the room taken by any one man the less there must be for others; in which the greater the number of men the worse must be the case of all."

The author in another part of his book unconsciously asserts a refutation of this idea. He says:

"As the population of the United Kingdom increases so do the wealth and productivity per head of population. In 1867 the national income was put at £814,000,000 for 39,000,000 of population, or £27 per head; in 1901 it was £1,700,000,000, or £40 per head."

The simile to which I have referred in Beveridge's book is not followed out with reasoning to show the effect which the application of this idea—which he recognizes as erroneous—has upon industry. Aside from this observation, all the rest of the labor literature of England to which I have had access deals with the question of what to do with the idle laborers.

the conditions under which shoes are made in the factories of Massachusetts may become such that it would be cheaper to make the same grade of shoe by hand in San Francisco, rather than ship them hence from the Eastern centres of such production. Indeed, the difference in factory cost may be very slight when it would be no longer profitable to ship them to San Francisco in competition with shoe factories of the latter city producing at a much higher cost. It is in large part upon these variations in cost that traffic of transportation companies, railroad and other, depends; and as the forces of isolation increase the cost, slacken the market, decrease the area of profitable shipment, the railroad, steamship and steamboat lines begin to suffer from the malady of decreasing gross earnings, while the pressure of ever increasing high prices forces upon them ever higher demands for wages and greater costs of operating. In turn they of necessity must raise the rates for their service; but these increased rates contribute to increase costs of production, which further limits the field of shipment, and this reacting tends further to lower the volume of traffic, while the original forces which increased costs and made the raise of rates necessary, continue in their further operations toward still higher costs.

With a considerable and ever increasing proportion of the industrial population of the nation deteriorating in confirmed idleness, with even members of the union squeezed out of employment by the severe contracting and constricting process which ever tightly draws toward the centre, with the Government striving always to relieve "the poor" and the "working people" by ever greater schemes of taxation; with industry hampered, incentive impaired, initiative held back by the status of things and by the general legislative attitude that any man who by extraordinary manifestation of ability or energy accumulates large property is wrongfully extracting an inordinate share of the proceeds of society, which necessarily must be acquired to the deprivation of large numbers of people who have so little and who find what they moderately need so hard to get—with this state of things prevailing over the nation, the eyes of the million naturally turn to what they come to look upon as the one haven of refuge from the general oppression—the Government. Industry, organized strictly in groups on reciprocally defensive lines, engages every means it can assemble to preserve its existence. Monopoly in all forms everywhere obtains. The centripetal action, whirling in the real of labor, is sought to be counterpoised by every phase of industry spinning in its own orbit. Men turn to the Government as the only power that can merge all the monopolies into one great monopoly—that of the State. The mind, so long tormented by the stress of things, turns to the Government with a feeling of comfort and relief at the idea of bringing about a condition in which the status of all will be in some manner horizontalized, and everyone will be secure in a Government job at good wages. Government, not suddenly or convulsively, but by rapidly succeeding steps, is forced from its position of protector of the individual rights of men, of one man against another, and the aider of industry by the distribu-

tion of facilities of information, to the active factor in control of industry—the producer, transporter, distributor, the banker of industry; in a word, the provider of jobs for its citizens. Moving upon the nucleus of the operator of the monopoly of the postal service, it adds the express service; then the telephone and telegraph services; then the railroads; then the steamship and steamboat lines. Exhausting the field of interstate public utilities, it enters those of the state and municipalities. It supplies electric light and power; street and suburban car service. From the building of ships for the navy in its own yards, it builds ships for commerce; it mines coal and oil for their fuel, and for the fuel of all industry. It makes clothing and shoes and materials and subsistence for its soldiers and sailors, and for the public generally; and in whatever domain of industry it enters it promptly installs conditions which make private competition therein impossible. The army of employees of the Government becomes a vast aggregate. The change from the constitutional system upon which the Government was founded has been profound. Constitutional restraints and representative legislation has been swept aside by the spread of official distrust which under the general tightening economic status of the masses has infected the public mind. Now no statesman dares stand for the truth if such be opposed to the ideas which demagoguery has infused into the popular mind, unless he be indifferent to public office, for his summary dismissal and disgrace through recall would be assured. Legislative enactments are now determined not by the wisdom of representation and debate, but by direct action of a minority of the people. They vote into law measures which they believe for their welfare. This they invariably regard as served by some presumed advantage planned to be had against the foreigner, against the minority, or against races within the country. In like manner they prevent from becoming laws acts of the legislature which disagree with either the sense of interest of the majority, or with their bias; and even for this cause dismiss judges from their positions, and vitiate their decrees.

Great standing armies and stupendous armament, ever annually increasing, themselves immensely adding to the cost of industry, has for years been a fixed attribute of Government, deemed indispensable to defend the nation from the people across the sea or border; while those people, suffering from the same economic infirmity as ourselves, and in a like disturbed state of mind against us, have been similarly exhausting their strength upon great armaments and munitions, which they deemed needful to defend their country against us. The condition of national migrative isolation,\* with its long fostered popular hatreds of the foreigner, has

\*The character of United States immigration exclusion which has prevented the rise of Mexico has been contract labor exclusion, through which inhibition Mexicans could not emigrate across the border if they had been previously employed to work in the United States. Only through advance assurance of employment at the end of their journey, is it possible for Mexican people to leave their homes and migrate to the United States. Such is, in fact, the condition under which all industrial peoples migrate, though in the case of many nationalities, the newcomers are received by resident friends who care for them until they are settled in employment in the country, such friends having previously

incessantly called for a foreign war. Such a war, hysterically promoted by the "yellow" press, has come to be looked upon by the "conservative business man" as not at all undesirable from the standpoint of the domestic interests of the country. It is regarded as necessary to relieve the nation of much of its "surplus population," comprising so many persons in almost continuous idleness. Besides, it is regarded as a means of bringing internal peace through deflecting all antagonisms and directing them against the foreigner, instead of exerting them in constant rioting and insurrection from place to place throughout the country, as has been for years going on, the fruitful cause thereof being "labor disputes," and "race differences." Further, a foreign war, it is felt by many, is needful to bring good times; as necessary to break the crust of things and make business active, as it certainly would in some lines, just as the hospitals and druggists become active because of an epidemic, a simile I used in my recent lecture.

This desired and highly popular war occurs. It brings forth a successful general—the strong and unscrupulous man of history. He has always come forth on the stage of the world, when the hour called, after a period of national travail. He possesses the peculiar characteristic quality, always displayed wherever and whenever he has appeared, of—

Welding, bending, fettering, kneading, molding

The minds of millions till they move as one.

He knows how to extinguish internal opposition to his plans, to cement the nation in the direction of his course. The temper of the country has become military and anti-foreign. He is elected to the presidency practically by popular acclaim. His ambition is that of his predecessors Alexander, Cyrus, Mahomet, Atilla, Caesar, Napoleon—to establish himself absolute in world rule, in universal empire. The time is ripe. Millions are in the service of

advised them by correspondence that employment would be practically ready for them upon their arrival. This method has not been the case with Mexicans to any appreciable extent; but if they were permitted to do so they would come to the country in gangs, upon the call of contractors and others, to do given work in the United States; and this migration, starting closest to the border, would gradually extend throughout Mexico, until the movement became of a more individualistic order. Such form of migration is, however, prohibited by law made in behalf of labor unions. The result has been failure of the rise of the Mexican people, absence of American influence in Mexico, and failure of normal development of our Mexican border states. Mexico itself, by reason of this blight, is now disintegrating through internecine war; quite the same as China has started in to disintegrate, and as Japan will presently disintegrate, and from the same cause—with this difference in the latter countries, of the dissolution of native sovereignty passing through foreign incursions, a condition which would quickly supervene in Mexico, were it not for the Monroe doctrine.

Mexico might well serve as a lesson to Japan, in that Japan thinks her people can rise through development of her internal resources by her own citizens educated abroad or at home, and by the presence of a few enterprising foreigners. Mexico was the theatre of thousands of large enterprises conducted by Americans and Europeans, yet her people, shut off from migrating with the United States, did not rise in any appreciable degree, or if at all, only to the extent of becoming dissatisfied; as is the case with southern China and with the Japanese about Tokio. It will be observed that the revolution in Mexico is chiefly in that part nearest the influence of the United States, namely, the northern border states, and the hinter tier of states, just as the revolution in China was in the Quang Tung province, the district whose people, through returning migrants from the United States, had been most influenced by our civilization. That the people of Mexico would have risen vastly had they been free to migrate to and from the United States is shown by the fact that the tropical African, resident in the United States, has developed hundreds of thousands of his race to high levels of civilized efficiency. Did the Africans possess a nation in Africa, as Mexico, China and Japan are nations, and intercourse between Africa and the United States were free, the Africans passing to and from our country and their own, there is no doubt that the African nation would have become vastly uplifted from its original state through the influence of the United States upon its migrants and their returning to their own country.

the Government, men and women, whose votes he owns, and to whom he is an idol. Through the polls they set up and tear down any and all he wishes. By perfectly lawful means, and apparently in the highest patriotic interests, he has enacted and repealed this and that constitutional and other provision, overturned this and that court decision, hitherto regarded, as the constitution itself, a bulwark of American liberties, until he has things in the shape he wants them. Foreign war now becomes war for foreign conquest. The hour has come. *L'homme* mounts the saddle; and from that on the nation converges to the rider on the white horse.

Thus we see by what processes individual freedom is overcome and supplanted, first by state socialism, this quickly passing into military despotism, under which, and the influence of war and ruin, civilization again subsides to the verge of the barbarie. As all war is primitive, the state of society that subsists beside long drawn periods of war, a thirty years war, or a hundred years war,\* will be alike barbarie; and the more directions in which the war may be simultaneously waged, the more rapid will be the disintegration of the civilized state.

The question is: how can we avert this impending doom? Is it, indeed, avoidable? I reply that it is, and easily so. We have but to employ, as I have said, the wisdom to understand the condition and the courage to correct it. The question is: will we do it? Can we do it? Is it possible for me, for instance, to get spread abroad this message, that men may have their thoughts introverted to contemplate the condition, and be awakened to follow the reasoning to reach the end? What is the remedy? It is exceedingly simple, so simple that you will smile when you hear it: it is HUMAN LIBERTY.

It is the liberty that was seen by our fathers of the constitution. The liberty that inspired the framer of the Declaration of Independence when he wrote:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident: That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; among which are life, liberty and pursuit of happiness; to secure which governments are established among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

The enemy of liberty is monopoly. It is only the destruction of monopoly in all its forms that is needed to secure to man liberty, to readjust conditions to bring abundance, happiness and security. Monopoly exists by virtue of law. It is special privilege, granting to some and denying to others that to which all are equally entitled. What things are monopolies and what are not, is a subject into which I cannot go at this time, in this

article, now far too much prolonged. Very certain it is that many things now often spoken of as monopolies are not monopolies at all, but entirely legitimate and proper functions of individuals; while some possessions not now commonly regarded as monopolies are in the highest degree such, so radically so in their nature that no change for the better could ever be effected without their eradication. But whatever the sacrifice of those in possession of monopoly, it is necessary that such be foregone if mankind is to go forward, and civilization as we now know it is to endure. We have got to return to the principle upon which this government was founded, namely: that the rights of man embrace all rights up to where their exercise trenches upon like rights of his neighbor. As to the region where they so trench, that is the true field of statesmanship—the proper zone for the functions of the legislature. Beyond this it has no business to go. How absurd it is that men shall be stigmatized and persecuted because their operations in business are large! Who would quell these great minds of business who have made the civilization of this nation so noble and so grand, or withhold from them the lure which impelled them on. Who would stifle such energies as those of Rockefeller or curb the constructive genius of Harriman? That restless soul pushed railroads through mountains and over plains, across desert sands and desert seas, and wore out his frail body in the endless quest of his laborers. What was his reward? Some sixty millions or more, it is said: what folly to think of it! He received what he ate and what he wore and the place that sheltered him. For the rest he had some printed paper, a ton or more, stacked up in a vault, worth in pulp some few dollars or a few cents. The railroads with their trains rushing hither and yon were not for Harriman, for they carried neither Harriman nor his goods. They carried the people of the United States and their effects, and they are the beneficiaries of his laborers. If these men have employed monopoly in their operations, it was because monopoly was a part of the business field. It was not necessary to them in their work, they could have performed their tasks without it if it had not existed; but existing as it did, it was indispensable that they should use it. The way to remedy these conditions is not to suppress the men as socialism would do, compressing the potentialities of all to a common dead labor union level; but destroy the monopoly. Permit the men to go on. Let the prizes be great and grand, as it is necessary they should be to bring out the highest energies of great souls; how insubstantial, in truth, are all such prizes. The millionaire builds the tall business block, or the vast hotel. He calls it the "Smith Block" or the "Jonesmont," and a stately edifice it is. To him what is it? What else does he acquire of or through it than a sense of esteem in which he deems himself held by his fellow men, and a feeling of some kind of power in connection with them?

"Vanity of vanities, all is vanity, saith the preacher." How can he use such power save for their benefit? He acquires a million a year in rents and he reinvests it—in what? In other buildings and other industrial

\*It is a mistake to assume that by reason of the expression of modern science in warfare, the latter has become, or will become, impracticable, and will cease to be waged; or that the effect of modern military instrumentalities will be to make wars short in duration. Without doubt their use greatly increases human slaughter, and requires war to be conducted upon a larger scale than was usual in the past. But the tendency of hostilities, as soon as they are installed, is to get rid of these refinements and bring battles down to hand-to-hand fighting. War, under existing civilization, continued for some time, soon becomes primitive.

undertakings. Nature has so schemed it: desiring to better self, it is needful that he first better his neighbor. Nature too, in her wise arrangement of things that runs through the affairs of men, just as it runs through all growth, has selected this man, elected him administrator of funds for the use of others, and he holds this position through proving his efficiency. The real beneficiaries of his work are the people who occupy the building, those who use the ultimate product of his enterprises. *He* gets, as I have said, what he eats, wears and uses—that is all. At the end of his career, if he has not left a progeny to carry on his work, there falls upon others the task of distributing his estate. How is it applied? Some Sage Foundation is organized and the yield of his properties no longer pass into industry, but are devoted to benevolent objects of public weal which are outside the scope of government, and properly so, to provide. The unfortunate are sought out and aided; comforts are brought to the needy; "for the poor always ye have with you"—not necessarily the impoverished, but the poor; and no socialism or any other ism can ever eradicate them; the reasons wherefor I cannot now pause to recite. Learning, art, science, are patronized, and their benefits are distributed to the uplift of the masses of the people. The *post mortem* career of the millionaire has taken on a new form of activity, appealing to the spirit of man, as his life was an engine appeasing their material desires. What folly, how hurtful to themselves for the people of any nation to hamper, to harass and derogate their master minds of business!

I think all men, awake to affairs within the nation, and conscious of the trend of western civilization, will realize that the fruition of that civilization, in the course of the evolution upon which it has been proceeding, is at its apex, if indeed, it is not far past it. The condition has long been foreseen. Ten years ago Benjamin Kidd, writing on this subject in his book "Social Evolution," said:

"We seem to have reached a time in which there is abroad in men's minds an instinctive feeling that a definite stage in the evolution of western civilization is drawing to a close, and that we are entering on a new era. Yet one of the most curious features of the time is the almost complete absence of any clear indication from those who speak in the name of science and authority, as to the direction in which the path of future progress lies. . . . Judged by the utterances of her spokesmen, science, whose great triumph in the nineteenth century has been the tracing of steps in the evolution of life up to human society, now stands dumb before the problems presented by society as it exists around us. As regards its evolution she appears to have no clear message. . . . (The public) who have to determine the issue (between capital and labor) are without knowledge of the first principles of the struggle. They look in vain for any authoritative definition of the laws or principles which underlie it; for any clear indication as to which side is right and which is wrong, or for any definite teaching as to whither our western civilization as a whole is tending."

Since Kidd wrote, the condition which he deplored has become accentuated; the trend, then for a long time apparent, has since become acute, so that it is now manifest to any perceiving mind. But in the decade, as prior, no voice has come forth to reveal the cause or point the way of relief and remedy. This, in the paper herewith presented, is, if not explained, at least indicated. To expound the reasoning with the completeness of proof, so that it may be entirely convincing to any rational mind, is a task which it has long been my desire to engage, but which fortune has never permitted me to attempt. Its exposition would require a book of about 500 pages, and to an attorney, employed in active practice, which his exigencies demand that he industriously pursue, the setting aside of time for such a labor is impossible. I can only hope that the lines I have here defined may be taken up by some mind having the leisure and the inclination to elucidate the trend, and to demonstrate the solution of the problem which the trend presents. Let me accentuate that the trend is socialism, absolutism and decline and ultimate perishing of our modern civilization—a movement now proceeding with a speed akin to the velocity of a celestial sphere about its orbit. The cause is the traversing of human liberty, of the natural rights of man, through the instrumentality of law, as so generally exists in various domains of business and property rights, or through sheer force of arms, as in the case of labor unions. Society must first understand, and then eradicate each and all of these. It must recognize that the day of special privilege is done; that such must pass, either merged into socialism as it is now proceeding, or eliminated in favor of individual rights. In either event men must cease curbing the proper activities of others, in order that they themselves may prosper. Those business men who now think they need be intrenched in monopoly in order to succeed, are mistaken. They would unquestionably make more money in a state of freedom, where human desire had free scope in its call for the service of men, than in the state of society which now exists. Prosperity of the sort mentioned is not real, but false, feverish and artificial. True prosperity can exist only when all men possess like opportunities before nature and under law, limited only by their own mental and physical capacities, or in other words, under a society in which men are free.

## The Student in Oriental Immigration

By JOHN E. BENNETT.

*The following address was delivered by Mr. Bennett before the Chinese Students' Association of America, at its convention held in San Francisco, in Y. M. C. A. hall, in January, 1914. Upon being introduced, Mr. Bennett said:*

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:—

Why did you come to the United States? To go to school? You could have gone to school in China, and could have gotten some measure of a so-called western education in the lately built colleges of your native country. You came here, if you will think of it, primarily to be in the presence of western civilization. Your going to college here, important as that is, is the least part of your education in this western land. The greater part of it is the fact that by being here you are brought into immediate contact with the multitude of objects, effects, productions and systems of western science and life. You are here in the midst of the highest civilization which mankind has ever developed, and you are seeing things, coming in contact with things, daily and hourly in your out-of-school experiences, that are making you a part of that life and of that civilization. With this, as well as with your diplomas, you will return to China, and your lives will then be devoted to the upbuilding of your own nation after the manner of what you have learned here.

Did it ever occur to you that every man of China who leaves your country for the west moves thither with exactly the same idea that has impelled you to come? You think perhaps that only the upper classes of China are the people who become educated, to whom schooling in the western world would be appropriate. You are disposed to regard the Chinese laborer as an extremely unimportant personage, whose province and function it is to work, and that he does not become educated; that the fact that he cannot come to the United States, is of no consequence, for he would not come here to study but to work; and if he be kept away from working here he will simply work in China, and it is no odds where he works. You speak of him lightly as a "coolie," and you do not think much about him. Let me say to you that the coolie is the real Chinaman. Eighty per cent. of your people are laborers, and it is so in all countries which have developed along the lines of civilization in the true sense, which is the western sense, no farther than has China. In the mountains of the Philip-

pires the population is one hundred per cent. laborers. You in China have a far less number of lawyers, doctors, teachers, financiers, bankers, promoters, inventors, merchants, manufacturers, scientists, office men, than have we. Even our laborers, compared with your laborers are not laborers at all. The skilled man who operates a delicate and highly sensitive machine that draws a great train of cars over a vast steel highway cannot be compared in his status of laborer, though among us he is classed as such, to the coolie who jumps along roads worn deep by naked feet, under his burden of hundreds of pounds swinging at two ends of a pole.

The coolie is the real man of China; the real Chinese nation. And why did he come to the United States? He came for exactly the same reason that you come. He came to go to school; not to go to school in a building with books under his arm; ah, no. Such are not the real schools. They are specifically educational seminaries. The real school is the United States—the nation itself. The coolie comes here to work. *You* come here to work. You work indoors, he works either indoors or out of doors. You are taught how to run machines in colleges, he was taught how to run machines in factories. What is the difference between the education that you get in the agricultural or horticultural colleges at Berkeley, and the education which he got on the great ranch in the San Joaquin, run by American men, equipped with modern appliances and conducted upon the effective systems which American thought has brought to bear in that field of productivity? The difference is only in degree. Both are lighting your lamps from the vast flame of western light, and with this illumination in degree as your respective capacities enable you to absorb it, you both return to China—to do what? To apply your knowledge there in the uplift of your people and your country.

But, my friends, this laborer of China is shut away from the United States. Not only from here, but other countries, believing our judgment against him to be correct, have copied our decree, and have shut him away from their nations. In no country where the light of western knowledge beams, and where he has thus far appeared in such numbers as to draw notice, can he enter. From the countries of that most advanced of the human race, those of the tongue who have in dominion spread themselves farther over the surface of the earth than any other—the English speaking people, he is shut away, save in England itself, and the regions of the English flag in Asia. That branch of them comprising the American nation has even shut him away from the parts of Asia where they are ascendant, so that he cannot go to the islands of the continent which he inhabits, and which, prior to our advent, had been his right since the dawn of history. From Canada, from Australia, from South Africa, from the isles of the Atlantic as well as those of the Pacific, from Alaska to the antipodes he is regarded as an object which must be kept away. He is excluded from Panama, he is massacred in Mexico as a warning that he must not further come there, and the countries of Latin-America, one after



another, are copying into law the exclusion enactments of the United States.

What does this mean to China? Have you ever thought of that? If you have it is more than your statesmen have ever done. It means that China is shut off from the light of the western world, from the lamp of western knowledge. It means that China is doomed to continue in barbarism and weakness, and that she can never rise. You have heard read here tonight by Professor Treat of the Oriental section of Stanford University a letter of Alexander Hamilton expressing the conditions afflicting the new nation of a few hundred thousand souls then gathered upon the eastern seaboard of the United States; and the Professor thinks he finds in that letter descriptions that parallel the conditions now in China which beset the statesmen administering the new republic. That they are in truth only difficulties and they will presently disappear, as disappeared those which called forth the letter of Hamilton. I assure him that the conditions of America at that time and those of China at present are wholly different. Here we had a vast territory lacking only settlement through immigration, with the door open to such from the nations of highest enlightenment then existing in the world—the civilization of Europe. China has vast territory; it is not sparsely settled, as ours was in the time of Hamilton, but it is well settled. It presents no offer to immigration—it is lacking in light. And that light is denied her through the attitude toward her of the western world. This country, presenting the conditions which Alexander Hamilton deplored, would have paralleled the present state of China had an exclusion law against the immigration of Europe existed on the American Atlantic seaboard which would have shut away the immigration of Europe, as was at that time, as early as 1789, strenuously demanded by various misguided persons, the progenitors of those who came after and enacted the exclusion law of 1882. But the door of immigration was kept open and in poured the men of Europe, who produced in this country the conditions that favored light, and there followed an inpouring of the light of Europe, and light acted upon light, and there arose in a hundred years this vast illumination which we now realize as the apex of modern civilization. What would the United States ever have attained in civilization if those people of Europe had been prevented from coming here in 1789 and thence on, as the exclusionists of that day would have effected, had they been given their way? The few who in that day were in the country would scarcely have advanced at all. We would have had now on the Atlantic seaboard small settlements of unenterprising and stolid people, and the balance of the country would still be the hunting ground of Indians. The reason for this would be that the light of Europe had been shut away from the new land by the exclusion of immigration. In respect of China today, the conditions differ chiefly in the fact that we stand to her in the position that the Europe of 1789 stood to us, and her continent, instead of being sparsely settled as then was ours, is for a large part well settled. The conditions differ also in this—that with America of 1789 the immigration moved from the center of higher civiliza-

tion to the country of lesser development, whereas with China of 1913 the immigration would (if allowed) move from the country of lesser development (China) to that of the higher civilization (America). Why in one case the immigration moved from a higher to a lesser civilization, and in the other case it would, were it free, move from a lesser to a higher civilization, is an interesting subject for inquiry. The answer is that migration always moves to fields of larger economic or industrial opportunity. The civilization of Europe in 1789 was vastly higher than that of the United States, but it was very unequally distributed amongst its peoples. There was a great under stratum in the society of the European countries of higher enlightenment to whom the benefits of their civilization was largely denied. These people emigrated to America, where they found, even amongst the wilds of the new country, larger opportunity, a far more untrammelled scope for the exercise of their intellects and energies, hence a wider school, than was presented to them in the lands they had left. The civilization built here by these immigrants was reared upon the structure of the old civilization of Europe, the best of which came to be drawn upon and incorporated in that rising here. This latter came ultimately to assist the upbuilding of the civilization of Europe in its own habitat. The discoveries in science, the elaboration of systems, the methods in industry and trade, even the economic principles and laws brought forward in America reacted upon Europe and were adopted there, in whole or in part, and such adoptions bred within those countries further thought which evolving into achievements we in turn acquired those. So by action and reaction of the thought of the two continents, what we call western civilization has been developed as we know it today. With this process the Orient has had practically nothing to do. We built up our civilization with little or no aid from them, for the simple reason that there was no interchange of people between the two continents, as was always the case between this continent and that of Europe. Articles of trade do not furnish the thought incentive that enables one country to build upon the thought of another. Such requires human contact, in other words migration. We could have gone on using the teas, the silks and gums of the Orient indefinitely and have been wholly unaffected by Chinese and Japanese thought in consequence thereof. One of the greatest tea drinking nations of the world, England, has acquired nothing of Chinese thought through its large consumption of her tea. De Quincey, addicted to the Chinese vice of opium, was so shocked on seeing a Chinese whom he met in England, that for months his aberrations were filled with what were to him horrifying visions of the Orient. The trouble with China today is not the growing pains that affect the healthy youth of a republic, but it is due to the fact that a little of western light has shot into the nation through returning immigrants from the United States, and the possessors of that light are trying to diffuse it amidst the surrounding darkness. Such light as it is, is very imperfect, and its possessors do not know how to handle it. More of the same light is required, even to them, to enable them to know how to use

it to their advantage. But it is the character of that quality—the light of civilization—that whoever possesses it will hold it as a lamp and will try to carry it forward. Where it meets darkness on every hand, as in China, it will naturally turn into a torch, and as such will become extinguished. The circumambient barbarianism will snuff it out. To sustain itself against the great walls of darkness, the light must be constantly reinforced from the sources of that light—in other words, more and ever more returned immigrants from the United States must pass into China to hold up the hands of those there bearing the lamp, and in such manner the illumination must ever grow, if it is to be sustained—otherwise it will expire and darkness will again pervade. This is what is the matter with China. Where did the revolution against the Manchus break out, and where was it most obstinately sustained? In the Quang Tung province, the region from which the immigrants went to the United States, during the thirty years we admitted them here, and to which they returned. These people wanted China to be a republic like the United States, where they or their fathers had acquired their knowledge. They thought if China were a republic, like the United States, it would soon become enlightened like the United States, and life in China would then be on a plane with life here. They did not realize that by changing the form of government they did not change the knowledge of the people, and that they cannot increase this in the varied and widespread manner necessary for the upbuilding of the nation after the manner of the civilized west, unless they have full and free that which the west possesses, namely, migration with the west. Let one nation of the west bottle up itself, or be bottled up, against all other nations, as is the case with China and Japan, so that the people cannot go out of the country anywhere into the west, and what would happen? Why, the proscribed nation would not only not advance, but it would rapidly deteriorate. That such must be the fate of China and of Japan, no thinking men can doubt. Do you realize what danger you are severally encountering by carrying western educations into a country where you will stand isolated spots of light surrounded by dense ignorance which is not in sympathy with your knowledge and views of life? How many men similar to yourselves have been murdered in China during the past year, for no other reason than that they were in possession of this western knowledge and were trying to graft it upon the darkness of China and to build out of that condition a higher order of affairs for the Chinese people! Look at that Chinese parliament, with its hands locked, unable to put pen to paper! Not locked by Yuan Shi Kai, who was groping amidst the gloom to find the things best to do, but by each other. Did you ever hear of a congress of the United States, a parliament of England, a Chamber of France, that would stand still for months, in the face of a great national crisis, and be unable to bring forward the wisdom to act? But you would find just that condition of things where one body of the men were possessed of western light and ideals, and the rest were not. The less enlightened elements would simply not act at all, not

knowing how to act in such a matter, hence fearful of all action. I tell you, my friends, you are entering upon a hazardous career to attempt to carry western light amongst a people shut off from the sources of that light, as China is today through its exclusion by the western world of her emigrating people.

I do not, however, feel that such admonitions as I am giving to you will long be in point to be given by anybody in the United States. In my judgment, not many bodies of intelligent Chinese, such as I see here tonight, will for long go forward from this country to China. You have read in the newspapers, but a week or more ago, the declaration by the head of the Immigration Department on the Coast, himself a labor union politician, that too many Chinese, pretending to be students, are entering this country under the exempt clause. That means that the Immigration Department is opposed to the entry of you students, and will employ the powers of the government in their hands to keep further contingents of you out of the country. You must know that the administration of the immigration laws of this country are in the hands of those who are strongly opposed to all immigrants entering the country, who wish to keep out every one who does not come here simply to spend money. They believe that any man who comes here to work takes the bread out of the mouth of some workman already here; that any country which by further enlightenment increases its powers of production, thereby lessens the opportunity of productions of the United States; and the element or class of our population whom the believers in these errors represent, are those who deem themselves injured by such immigration—I refer to our labor unionists. These people, administering the immigration laws, have full and absolute control over them. They have succeeded in eliminating the Courts of the country from dealing with such matters, so that justice through law is not possible, and appeals are taken merely from one labor unionist to another labor unionist. There is nothing, therefore, to prevent them from excluding whatever Chinese students they may desire, and as they regard the Chinese exclusion laws as racial, as in fact they are, they view it desirable that all Chinese, all Japanese and all Hindus should be kept out of the country without regard to their occupations. You noticed just last week that the Chinese Six Companies issued a statement that they would urge the Chinese government not to exhibit at the Panama Pacific Exposition on the ground that it is the policy of the United States and the State of California to discriminate against all Chinese resident within the country; and you have noted the many recent acts of the California legislature, among them the so-called Alien-Land Acts, preventing Chinese and Japanese from owning lands within the state, which have for their purpose the rooting out and expelling Chinese and Japanese residents from the state, just as similar discriminatory acts in South Africa have for their purpose the driving out of that country the Chinese and Hindu people. For these reasons, therefore, you may expect fewer Chinese students educated in the United States in future



than heretofore. I do not regard this as harmful to such proposed students; rather it is for their benefit; for I gravely doubt the success or the safety to themselves of a few young men carrying western educations into China, shut off, as China is by exclusion laws of the West, from the enlightening and uplifting influence of migration thence of her people generally; for if you are to use in China your western educations to the best advantage and in the fullest scope, you will be apt to incur the enmity of the reactionary elements about you.

The real reason Chinese and Japanese immigration is opposed in the United States is a prevalent mistaken belief that opportunity to labor is created and controlled by demand and supply of laborers. This opinion pervades all classes of people, and the error finds no refutation from the colleges or the learned. It is a great and terrible mistake. Assuming the idea to be true, it becomes the concern of the laboring element of the country, the part of it which is organized and politically active, to create conditions which maintain a scarcity of laborers on one hand, and a scarcity of products of labor on the other. If things be scarce there will be a demand for laborers to supply things, and if at the same time laborers be scarce those who are employed will receive higher wages for their work, for of course scarcity means high prices and high prices means high wages. This is the condition which is now inflicting itself upon the United States as upon Europe. The idea also extends to keeping out of the country all imports, for if products of labor come into the country, there must be less demand for labor here to make such things in this country. The laborers therefore back the protectionist view that foreign commerce is only beneficial to the country when it consists of goods going out of the country in exchange for gold coming in. I cannot go into the depths of the economic idea here tonight, except to tell you that the doctrine is all wrong. It is not the law that either a scarcity of laborers or a scarcity of products benefits the laborer or the country of which he is a part; save for a few individuals who are the pampered beneficiaries of a false principle, it is ruinous to both. God did not so create the world and mankind that the presence of one man in lawful work should be a harm to his fellow; or that the exchange of the products of the labors of two men, whether they be respectively across the street or across an ocean, should be a harm to either; a laborer is not harm but a benefit to his fellow wherever he is, and to his country and to their country, and the larger the number of men at work the greater the benefit to all. Demand for labor does not arise through scarcity of things, but through abundance of things, which no sooner are created than they must be transported and distributed for consumption, or they are converted into other forms for such consumption; hence the more you have of things, the greater is the call upon industry and upon men to operate upon things, and this comprises labor and the opportunity to labor, or, as we call it, employment.

The condition brought about by the error produces many matters which

seem to have no relation to the error. The California land question, for instance, and all the anti-oriental legislation ever enacted in the United States or in any state thereof, have been produced through this error. But the most remarkable of all its effects is the growth of race hatred. Everywhere the presence of Orientals is looked upon as being inimical to the peoples amongst whom they appear. In the United States, Canada, Australia they "will not assimilate with the white race," hence cannot be permitted amongst them. In Mexico amongst the copper colored peons, you are "leeches," as General Carranza calls you,\* and you will not assimilate with the Mexicans. In the Philippines amongst the bronze Filipino, you are utterly intolerable and "cannot assimilate with the natives." In the Hawaiias where the dusky, good-natured and indolent Kanakas pervade, you are utterly unassimilable and will "drive the native out" if you are permitted entry. So in Africa, so everywhere, in fact even in one part of Asia against another, the going thence of yourselves or the Japanese has come or is coming to be treated as an assault upon everybody upon any shore where you land. This feeling and this view, I say, is merely due to the primary mistake, the economic error, I have mentioned. With that corrected in the minds of men—and it could with a few years of real effort be corrected the world over—with that corrected, all this race hatred would disappear. Men would no longer feel or express antipathy toward you, when they understood and realized that they were vastly benefited, and not harmed, by your presence. They would welcome you amongst them with glad hearts just as we here in California welcome the men from the Eastern States (all of us except the labor unions, who hate those immigrants just as they hate you), and just as we Californians welcomed you here in this land when you first came to us in the early fifties, at a time when it was generally believed that your presence here was a benefit to us.

The evil, therefore, that lies at the bottom of this whole immigration question, and all that flows from it and will flow, is this one point, that opportunity to labor is not created, controlled or even affected by demand and supply of laborers. The economic condition that we stand in the presence of is akin to those conditions we find in pathology. We have a disease, men are appalled by its epidemic; people are out of work and are destroyed

\*Since this address was delivered, the edict of the insurgent government of Mexico has gone forth against the Japanese as well as the Chinese, and both are prohibited from landing on those shores of Mexico under revolutionary control. In 1901 I saw in Mexico many evidences which convinced me that the Chinese there would be subject to massacre at the first revolution fomented on behalf of "the people." This has since occurred on a considerable scale, and the hatred is now extended to the Japanese. The latter in large numbers have recently been migrating to Brazil as laborers and agriculturists. A few days ago reports came of serious revolutions, and sieges of towns in central Brazil, the disturbances being due to "race differences;" the meagre reports in the press despatches failing in the information as to what race or races were involved in the difficulty. The fact, however, that revolution has arisen in three districts of Brazil, and that the troubles are over race, points inevitably to the fact that if the Japanese are not implicated in the present disturbances they certainly will be so involved later on. The moving of people out of Japan to reside in any part of the Western world, with the mind of the West filled with the economic error upon immigration which now besets it, is simply sending forth people to either certain destruction, or to the stirring up with the nations in which they settle of political difficulties to perplex the home government and to provoke riots in Japan. If Japan continues indifferent to this economic problem in the west, she must at least content herself with realizing that she is bottled up in Asia.

by thousands; a few, doctors, nurses, hospitals, druggists, even profit by the condition; but the mass and the country suffers, the government is perplexed and confounded. Some investigator comes forward with a statement that the disease is due to a germ. He is scoffed at by doctors and druggists, and government considers him unworthy of notice. Presently the investigator isolates his germ, and tells how he did it; he tests it, introduces it into healthy bodies and produces the disease; then having the germ, he supplies a serum with which he cures the disease. Doctors still scoff, and government is still heedless. "Why should this fellow way off yonder in the woods have anything worth noticing? If anything like that were possible, some college professor would have found it and brought it forth; instead, the professors are all against it, say it is not so; let us have done with this man." I am the fellow with the germ and the serum. My reading of years on this subject has not shown me that in this great immigration and labor question, anyone but myself has ever come forward with *error upon demand and supply of laborers*, as the reason for the wrong conditions. The serum is publicity, education of the public. I carry it to doctors, to government, those able to recognize it, to see and measure the germ plainly through the micrometer of the mind, and they refuse to look and see; their fathers refused to look into the telescope of Galileo and thereby wreck their own erroneous notions of the celestial universe, notions arrived at without a telescope. "How can it be so when no professor says it is so, and what business has this fellow yonder in San Francisco got with mixing up in questions of this sort? How can he be right or worthy of notice?" Meanwhile the multitudes perish, the seeds of war sown thick over the world sprout their crops of spears and bayonets, and ripen toward the harvest of widespread human slaughter.

If any one ever comes forward possessed of the understanding and sufficiently equipped to explode this error, the immigration question will be solved, the labor question will be solved; the opposition to immigration, Chinese, Japanese, Hindus, Italians, Bulgarians, Slavs and the rest—will end, and the Chinese exclusion law and Japanese "gentlemen's agreement" will crumble into dust, and our people will invite again the immigration of China and Japan, as we did before. Only a campaign of education upon the subject can effect the change; and considering the tremendous issues at stake with the nations of the Orient in a continuance of this condition in the United States, I have for years been striving with the people and statesmen of China and Japan to get them to understand the problem, to the end that they would bring about such a campaign amongst the American people.

I have at last reluctantly concluded, however, that the Oriental peoples cannot be moved in this matter, that they will not install the desired campaign, and that whatever calamities must befall the nations in consequence of the maintenance of exclusion, must come to pass. Not without strenuous endeavor to awaken the Orient to its danger, and complete non-success attendant thereupon, have I reached this conclusion. I have for six years

importunated every Japanese official with whom I came in contact to see the danger to his country of the existing condition, but without success. I have written to Japanese statesmen, philosophers and business men in Japan, scores of letters elucidating the subject, and the feeling that I now have is that my expositions have not been useful or even welcome. Two years ago I wrote a series of twenty-five articles upon the subject which I caused to be printed weekly in the leading daily newspaper of Hongkong; but no attention whatever was paid in the Orient to these articles that I have learned. If my experience had been that of myself alone I should perhaps feel that my proposals were but folly and my warnings were but the manifestations of a disturbed mental state. But my experience has been the experience of others. Some two years ago, Mr. T. S. Sutton, an American gentleman of learning and wide general experience, living in Los Angeles, came across my articles then appearing through the newspaper in Hongkong. He came to San Francisco to call upon me, and remaining here a week, he became imbued with the doctrines of truth as I laid them before him. Returning to Los Angeles, and being known among the Chinese of that city, he directed a movement for arousing China upon this subject to the end that a campaign of education amongst the people of the United States be installed. During a whole year he did no other work than writing letters upon this subject which he caused to be circulated by thousands to newspapers and public men of China. He did not even, so far as I know, receive so much as a reply to any missive he sent, and at the end of a year he ceased his efforts, realizing that he had accomplished nothing whatever. In the meantime, he had, however, converted five or six educated Chinese in Los Angeles, and these men joined him in the effort to arouse their countrymen. I have never in my life read such letters as were written by these Chinese men. Learned, wise and able as they were, they teemed with the energy of indignation at the oppressions of the Americans and the world upon their countrymen, and assailed the ignorance that permitted it with a vehemence that I felt must move the very stones of the Chinese wall, much less the minds of the Chinese statesmen as stolid, indeed, it has seemed to me, as the stones of that wall. It was all of no use, against the density of that ignorance the impingement of no warning, however forcefully driven, could make a breach; and they, Dr. Chan Kiu Sing at their head, like Mr. Sutton, were compelled to give over their thankless task.

Generally speaking both the Chinese and Japanese in the United States do not wish free entry herein of their countrymen.\* They are extremely

\*It will be remembered that the Chinese Six Companies very strongly favored the appointment of Senator A. C. McMillan as Immigration Commissioner of the United States at San Francisco, notwithstanding he had for years been one of the most active antagonists of Chinese immigration on this coast. And Dr. Sidney L. Gulick of Tokio, said to be in charge of a campaign of education of the Japanese in the United States to effect non-discrimination of the resident Japanese, securing to them equal rights and naturalization, proposed to the State Department in Washington a scheme of immigration restriction applicable to all immigrants to the United States, which would have permanently fixed the immigration from Japan at about 220 per year. What Dr. Gulick and those behind him were looking to was not the effect which suspended migration with the West was having or would have on Japan, but the privilege and comfort of the resident Japanese, which had he attained all he sought, either at Washington or through his campaign, would have benefited Japan, or the people in Japan, not even the slightest. See "A New Immigration Policy" (pamphlet), by Prof. Sidney L. Gulick.

anxious to prevent discriminatory legislation against Chinese and Japanese, for such are themselves, and to possess equal rights and privileges with those of all other peoples in the country. They refuse to believe that the feeling of hatred against them, and the discriminatory legislation, and the various though non-official persecutions to which they are subjected as a race, has anything whatever to do with immigration, and they have no ear for anyone seeking to point out to them the relation between the two. Their idea of removing this offensive legislation, and of securing equal rights, citizenship among the number, is to lead good and useful lives as individuals, do nothing to oppose the views of any persons within the country, and try to cultivate the good will of Americans. They think thereby they can "live down" the feeling that everywhere exists against them. They are very much mistaken. They can never "live down" race hatred. They can never find favor in the eyes of people who believe that their presence in the country is hurtful to the American people. Where would you find more useful and less offensive persons than those Japanese farmers about Lodi who purchased desert areas of shallow soil there and converted them into a vast garden blooming with berry blossoms. None could deny that every interest in California with whom they had any dealings was richer, and every white man within those interests was better and happier for the existence of those Japanese, and yet the race-hating Governor of California conducted the Secretary of State of the United States through that district and invited him to see in these smiling farms the reason why the California legislature should deny to Japanese the right to own land in this State. The causes of this hatred I shall refer to later on, for the present let me remark that Orientals do not want free entry thither of their own people. In this they are entirely selfish. "What you propose," said a Japanese official to me once, "would be unfair to the Japanese who are here." In other words, they regard themselves in relation to their countrymen not within this country just as our labor unionists regard them. They consider that if Japanese came freely into the country competition would be presented to them in their jobs, and their rate of wages would go down. I cannot enter into discussion of this phase of our Pacific Coast wage question at this time, I can only say that wages have never been so reduced on the Atlantic seaboard wherein yearly pours a million emigrants, not one whit better people than those we received here from the Orient. Undoubtedly, through the influence of labor unionism in San Francisco, and in a lesser degree all over the United States, wages are keyed up too high, being fixed as they are at the breaking point, often indeed far above the breaking point, as they were a while ago, when parades of men for whom there was no employment marched through the streets of San Francisco, the line bannered with the legend "We are starving! \$3 for a day of eight hours, or we won't work!" The fact is that in the days when Chinese and Japanese immigration was free on this Coast we had high wages; not so high as the wages ruling at present, it is true, though our most prosperous period was in those days. What *would be* lowered is the

cost of living, now so absurdly high that in many cases those who are receiving these high wages must subsist on the coarsest and often the scantiest food. It is of not the slightest benefit that laborers receive high wages, in a condition of high prices for everything they consume. What the laborer really receives for his labor is not money but *things*—the things he buys with his money; if things be abundant he will get much for his wages; if they be scarce and high, he will receive little wage, through the metal he gets as his pay be too heavy to carry home. There is no doubt that with free immigration with Asia on this Coast there would be a vastly greater abundance of everything that exists than at present and real wages in consequence, would be greatly increased.

The whole white race, in all the nations of the continents, of Europe, of America, of Africa, are now moving to wall up the people of Asia within the boundaries of their several nations, to prevent them from having intercourse with the western world. You have recently seen that the Mexican chiefs are preventing you from entering their country, and are arranging legislation to drive out those of you who are there, just as the California legislature is driving you, both Chinese and Japanese, out of California. They are keeping you out driving you out everywhere. What effect is this bottling up going to have on your respective countries? What effect did it have on you during the centuries you remained in isolation? Why, you did not progress at all, notwithstanding you had some intercourse with the small nations about you, Siam, Annam, Chosen, even with India and the islands of Asia; you did not progress, you are at a simmering standstill. Now you are to be thrown back into that condition of darkness and weakness, just when you are trying to move out of it, and while you are surrounded by the powerful white nations of Europe, on Asiatic territory, who are menacing your national integrity. Do not think you can stand these nations off from their aggressions and incursions, if you remain weak? No, you have got to become strong, strong along the lines of modern civilization if you wish to hold your countries in Chinese and Japanese hands, otherwise the Europeans will overrun you and take your governments away from you; and you cannot become strong and developed, unless you have the benefits of Western intercourse, which is migration. Suppose one of *their* countries were walled up by China and Japan against their immigrant peoples going out anywhere into the world, do you think they would stand that sort of thing any longer than they could get their warships cleared for battle? Where would Germany's South American trade be today for instance, were it not for German immigration to those countries? You must remember that while the white race is bottling up your countries so you cannot go to any country of the white race, cannot go in some instances even, from one country to another in Asia, they have the whole white world free and open amongst themselves, and may freely imbibe by processes of migration the light of one nation by another. Have you ever tried to balance in your minds from the standpoint of progress in civilization a nation shut off from

migration with a nation to whom migration with the whole world is free and open?

Someone has asked me here tonight to express my views upon the future of Japan under this isolated condition. My answer is if Japan will not come forward and move this campaign in the United States which will wipe out those laws, she should forthwith abandon her idea of being a nation standing between Asia and the West, treating herself as a nation apart from the rest of Asia, regarding herself as a sort of half Western nation, a vehicle or avenue for the introduction of Western civilization into the continent of Asia. She must get rid of that notion at once, and realize that she is altogether Asiatic, that her interests lie wholly with Asia. She must turn to China and earnestly try to fan into activity and uplift there what of modern civilization she has imbibed from the West, and prepare for the wars which Asia must wage to drive the white out of Asia. This task she must set for herself and she can move upon it none too speedily; if she does not, the white will have her government as he will have that of China and this within the next half century. Japan has stood off the white in one war, but for her success in which she would have now hovering over her an enemy who would be threatening her existence as a sovereign entity. She must be brought to feel that the war with Russia was but the beginning of a series of wars, and she cannot meet these without the aid of China. It will be a war of "Asia for the Asiatics" against the white. It will be a gigantic reign and realm of bloodshed, but none the less necessary if her sovereignty is to be maintained. Such would not be necessary, and the rule of peace would pervade the eastern world as the people moved upward with those of the West in a common civilization, if she should set about removing exclusion of immigration in the West; but so far, no Oriental nation has shown either the statesmanship to study the subject, or the disposition to undertake the task. I thank you.

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